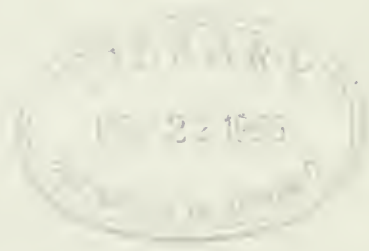
Venkatacharya, T
A critique on Dr. Agrawala's India as known to Pāṇini

A Critique on Dr Agrawala's "India as known to Pāṇini"

by

T. VENKATACHARYA

The book under reference substantially represents two doctoral theses submitted by Dr V. S. Agrawala to the University of Lucknow, and it was published in the year 1953 by the authorities of the University. It is undoubtedly the outcome of prodigious industry, and in the field of indological researches it is a very valuable contribution dealing with the important data of India's culture and civilization in its various aspects, furnished by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the subsequent grammatical literature. In the accomplishment of this work the author has made the fullest use of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, which provides reliable clues, to a considerable extent, to the knowledge of India's past history.

I am fully alive to the importance of Dr Agrawala's researches, and it is this consideration of the value of this work which prompts me to press the need for reconsideration of several issues which, I am persuaded, are not faithful to the original texts. In the interest of perfection these matters of doubtful inaccuracy should receive thorough clarification, and if my contention be correct the result will be beneficial to the students of India's thought in general and of Pāṇini in particular. I am conscious of my limitations and the position which Professor Agrawala occupies in an important seat of learning in India. Yet I am inclined to observe that in many places he does not seem to be as *au courant* and exact as expected. His interpretations of the original texts appear to be hasty and subjective. It appears that in such of the cases as will be shown in the following pages the writer did not give sufficient consideration and thought to the crucial points. My interests in this book and my appreciation of the labours of the author are genuine and sincere, and I should be the last person to pick holes in a captious spirit. It is, however, because of the consideration that this book will continue to engage the attention of the students of Indology, and that the lapses should not gain perpetuity by repetition by future scholars who will have neither the time nor

the equipment to go to the sources, that I undertake to give a review of the issues with a view to their reassessment by the author himself.

I. *Uttarā*

At the very outset of the book it is stated :

> " Grammar was regarded by the Indians as the first and most important of the sciences. (*Vyākaraṇam nāmeyam uttarā vidyā, Bhāṣya*, 1.2.32; also *ṣaṭsu aṅgeṣu pradhānam*)" (*India as known to Pāṇini* : p. 1).

This statement seems to have been inspired by the *a priori* consideration of the secondary meaning of the word *uttarā* without chronological reference. But it is the chronological meaning which makes the statement of Patañjali apposite and relevant. Evidently the word *uttarā*, as rendered by Dr Agrawala, is understood to mean " the first and most important " (of the sciences). That the word *uttara* can be used to denote superiority in certain contexts does not admit of doubt. But the meaning of superiority is secondary (*lākṣaṇika*), since what comes later seems to be better. The secondary meaning became well-established in the time of Amarasiṁha as is evident from his remark : *Uparyudīcya śreṣṭheṣvapyuttaraḥ*. But in the *Mahābhāṣya* under reference the word is certainly not used in that sense.[1] This will be clear if we study the context in which it is used. This remark occurs in the *Bhāṣya* under '*Tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam*' (1.2.32): The previous rule '*Samāhārassvaritaḥ*' says that a *svarita* vowel is that which contains both *udātta* and *anudātta*, the two qualities of the vowel sounds, i.e., the combination of the two accents high and low. The next rule '*Tasyādita*, etc.' demarcates the first portion of the half a *mātrā* of the *svarita* vowel as having the *udātta* accent and the remaining the *anudātta*. (The word *ardhahrasva* means only '*half a mātrā*', and not ' half of the *hrasva* vowel'). Under this rule Patañjali has given an interesting note on the necessity

1. The other quotation '*ṣaṭsu aṅgeṣu pradhānam*' means that of the six ancillary sciences of the Veda (not of all sciences like *Vedānta Mīmāmsā, Nyāya* etc.) grammar is the most important. It is only the relative position of *Vyākaraṇa* among the six ancillary disciplines which gives it priority. The assertion of Patañjali is only relative and not in an absolute reference. It would have been helpful if the author took note of this fact. As it stands it is misleading.

of specific rule like the one under discussion for the purpose of demarcating the accent. The question is posed here that the rule need not be framed for imparting instruction on such obvious factors of the vowel sound as the *udātta,* just as no rule is framed for giving instruction about the details of the analogous component vowel sounds of the diphthongs.[2] Patañjali answers this question in a suitable manner. He says that the *svarita* vowel looks like a sound of fused accents. The fusion of the two makes it difficult to distinguish the *udātta* part from that of the *anudātta*. For instance, when the milk is adulterated with water it is very difficult (except by means of a lactometer produced by the modern scientists) to mark out the volume of the aqua from that of the milk. Patañjali says that the case of the *svarita* vowel is also the same. Therefore, the master, Pāṇini, out of benevolence and friendly disposition imparts, for the edification of the students, instruction as to the portion and part of the *udātta* and the *anudātta.*[3] Then a point of order is raised that if Pāṇini offers this instruction for the edification of mediocre students, why does he not give his ruling on other linguistic factors such as places and modes of articulation (*sthāna* and *prayatna*)?[4] This objection is ruled out by Patañjali with the characteristic remark: "*Vyākaraṇam nāmeyam uttarā vidyā, so'sau chandaśśāstreṣvabhivinītaḥ upalabdhyā adhigantum utsahate*'. Kaiyaṭa's comment on this is:

Purā kalpe pūrvā, adyatve tu uttareti paspaśāyāmākhyātam.[5] The import of Patañjali's remark as explained by Kaiyaṭa is that grammar is a subsequent discipline, being cultivated by a student

2. Kaiyaṭa says: "*Naivambhūtairihānvākhyānam dṛśyate, sandhyakṣarādiviṣayasyāpi vibhāgasya anvākhyānaprasangāt iti bhāvaḥ.*

3. Vide: *Mahābhāṣya* under 1.2.32: *Āmiśrībhūtamivedam bhavati. Tadyathā kṣīrodake sampṛkte āmiśrībhūtatvāt na jñāyate kiyat kṣīram kiyadudakam, kasminnavakāśe kṣīram kasmin vā udakamiti. Evaṁ ihāpyāmiśrībhūtatvāt na jñāyate kiyadudāttam, kiyadvā anudāttam, kasminnavakāśe udāttam, kasmin anudāttamiti. Tadācāryassuhṛdbhūtvā anvācaṣṭe iyadudāttam, iyadanudāttam, asminnavakāśe udāttam, asmin anudāttamiti.*"

4. Ibid. "*Yadyayamevaṁ ṣuhṛd kimanyānyapyevañ jātīyakāni nopadiśati? kāni punastāni? sthāna-,karaṇa- (ābhyantara prayatna) anupradānāni (bāhya prayatna)*".

5. Vide: The *Mahābhāṣya* in *Paspaśā*:

"*Purā kalpe etadāsīt——saṁskārottarakālam brāhmaṇā Vyākaraṇaṁ sma adhīyate, tebhyastattatsthāna, karaṇa, nādānupradānajñebhyo vaidikāśśabdā upadiśyante, Tadadyatve na tathā; Vedam adhītya tvaritā, vaktāro bhavanti* etc. Also see Kaiyaṭa's explanation in this context: "*Purā Vedādhyanāt pūrvam Vyākaraṇamadhīyate*" etc.

after his initiation into the Vedic sciences, and by reason of his initiation into the Vedic sciences such as the Vedic grammar (*Prātiśākhya*) and Phonetics (*Śikṣā*), etc., he has gained the necessary knowledge about the places and modes of articulation. So there is no necessity for instruction on these factors which are already known to the student. But it may, however, be questioned that the student initiated into the Vedic sciences can similarly know of the details of the *udātta* and *anudātta* as well, and consequently the rules '*Tasyādita* etc.' are equally unwarranted. Patañjali admits in the sequel that strictly speaking these rules also are not imperative; yet Pāṇini taught them simply for the edification of students of lower calibre[6] who may find it difficult to demarcate the obscure *udātta* and the *anudātta* in the *svarita* vowel. To know the places and modes of articulation of letters is of course not so difficult as the indistinct accents of the *svarita* vowel. It is this context in which occurs Patañjali's remark: *Vyākaraṇam nāmeyam uttarā vidyā,* which is quoted by Dr Agrawala in support of his statement 'Grammar is the first and most important of the sciences'. But here the epithet *uttarā* as explained by Kaiyaṭa means only 'subsequent (discipline)', and it does not admit of the interpretation given by Dr Agrawala. Any other meaning of the word *uttarā* is most unsuitable to the context, and accordingly the quotation of this Patañjali's remark for supporting his contention is only an inaccurate presentation of the facts.

II. *Vyākaraṇaṁ sūtrayati*

On page 4 again[7] it is stated:

> "Patañjali speaks of Pāṇini adopting the sūtra style as the medium of teaching grammar."

The writer seeks to support this opinion by quoting a sentence from the *Mahābhāṣya* under the rule *Hetumati ca* (3.1.26). Under this rule an interesting point regarding certain grammatical procedure is illustrated by Patañjali in his usual manner of question and answer. Nouns are reduced to verbs by some grammatcial device. For instance,[8] *sūtrayati* is such a verb from the word *sūtra*. It means: "One frames the *sūtras*". The two forms of ex-

6. "*Anvākhyānameva tarhīdam mandabuddheḥ*" *Bhāṣya,* under 1.2.32.

7. This kind of page-reference hereinafter is to Dr Agarwala's book *India as Known to Pāṇini.*

8. "*Tatkaroti tadācaṣṭe*".

pression, *Vyākaraṇasya sūtraṁ karoti,* and *vyākaraṇaṁ sūtayati,* have got the same meaning. But the difficulty is that in the first instance the word *vyākaraṇa* is in the genitive case, and in the second it is in the accusative. Why this change of form though they are materially identical? This is the problem. Of course, a minor problem was involved in *Vyākaraṇasya sūtraṁ karoti,* because *vyākarṇa* and *sūtra* are identical. But this is explained by Patañjali in a secondary sense, *sūtra* being used as a part of the whole. The difference in the cases is explained[9] by the transitive verb form *sūtrayati* governing an accusative case. The expression *Vyākaraṇaṁ sūtrayati* therefore means only what is conveyed by its explanatory sentence (*vigrahavākya*) *vyākaraṇasya sūtraṁ karoti.* This is analogous to the expression *vyākaraṇasya ṭīkāṁ karoti, vyākaraṇaṁ ṭīkayati. Sūtrayati,* etc., is an example of *nāmadhātu* (Denominative verb) derived from the nominal stem by the rule *'Tatkaroti tadācaṣṭe'.* So the sentence *Vyākaraṇam sūtrayati* in the context in the *Mahābhāṣya* under reference means only 'One composes the aphorism of grammar', and it does not follow that '*Pāṇini* adopts the *sūtra* style as the medium of teaching grammar'. It is, therefore, not discernible how Dr Agrawala makes out his contention on the strength of this *Mahābhāṣya* text. It is strange to attribute it to Pāṇini, because no word like Pāṇini or ācārya is used by Patañjali in this context. Dr Agrawala's argument is a case of *petitio principii.* It assumes that Pāṇini was the *sūtrakāra* in *Vyākaraṇa,* for which there is no warrant, and then it concludes that the sentence '*Vyākaraṇam sūtrayati* must refer to Pāṇini. Professor Agrawala could quote with relevancy such of the *ipse dixits* of Pañjali as (1) *Pramāṇabhūta ācārya .... sūtrāṇi praṇayati sma;* (2) *Ubhayathāhyācāryeṇa sūtrāṇi praṇītāni,* and others.

Also Dr Agrawala's observation on page 4 :

> 'Previous writers were perhaps inclined to treat *Vyākaraṇa* as composed of rules as well as individual words (*lakṣya-lakṣaṇa*). But Patañjali tells us that Pāṇini's contri-

9. *"Iha Vyākaraṇasya sūtram karoti, Vyākaraṇaṁ ṣūtrayatīti vākye ṣaṣṭhī, utpanne ca pratyaye dvitīyī, kenaitadcvaṁ bhavati? Yosau sūtravyākaraṇa-yorabhisambandhaḥ sa utpanne pratyaye nivartate; asti ca karotervyākaraṇena sāmarthyamiti kṛtvā dvitīyā bhaviṣyati".* Also see Kaiyaṭa on this: *"Vākye dravyarūpaṁ sūtraṁ sūtraśabdenocyate. Ṇicitūtpanne sattvabhāvātivartanāt karotyarthābhidhāyī sūtraśabdaḥ sampadyate, Taduktam parārthābhdhānaṁ vṛttiriti".*

bution consisted in framing *sūtras* to embody the linguistic phenomena and to build up a system, rather than pursue the arduous and lengthy process of taking each word separately';

is not supported by objective evidence. So far as the *sūtra* pattern of composition is concerned it was in vogue before Pāṇini's time as is evident from his own aphorism (3.2.23) justifying the form *sūtrakāra,* the rule *Pārāśaryaśilālibhyām bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ,* and from the example "*Trikāḥ Kāśakṛtsnāḥ* given in the *Kāśikā* under 4.2.65. Pāṇini has quoted his predecessors who most probably adopted the *sūtra* style. Patañjali's appreciation[10] of the perfection of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini indicates that he excelled his predecessors in making his aphorisms more expressive and effective.

Dr Agrawala's remark that Pāṇini's predecessors adopted both *lakṣya* (words) and *lakṣaṇa* (rule), and Pāṇini followed a different method is very unfortunate. This is what Pāṇini himself did as vouched for by Patañjali. He framed rules not in a vacuum, but with reference to the word forms to be explained (*lakṣya-lakṣaṇe*: vide: *Paspaśā*). Perhaps Dr Agrawala is influenced by the allusion of Patañjali to the story of Indra and Bṛhaspati. There he shows the necessity of not only inductive observation, but that with a view to composition of generic rules,[11] which apply to a large class of individuals. This must also have been the method followed by his predecessors. It is unthinkable that Pāṇini could frame his rules in such a perfect fashion without the guidance of a previous model. I do not think that such hazardous guesses are the proper way to demonstrate one's admiration for Pāṇini whose claim to eminence stands on unassailable grounds.

III *Ardha mātrālāghavena,* etc., and *Darbhapavitrapāṇiḥ*

Under the rule *Vṛddhirādaic* Patañjali pays his homage[12] to Pāṇini by his assertion that there is not even a single letter or

10. Vide: *Mahābhāṣya* : *Ākumāram yaśaḥ Pāṇineḥ* under 1.4.89.
" : *Śobhanā khalu Pāṇinessūtrasya kṛtiḥ* (2.3.66).
" : *Pāṇinīyam mahat suvihitam* (4.3.66).

11. Vide: *Mahābhṣya, Paspaśā*: '*Kimcit sāmānyaviśeṣavat lakṣaṇam praṇeyam* etc.

12. Vide: *Pramāṇabhūta ācāryo darbhapavitrapāṇiḥ śucāvavakāśe prāṅmukha upaviśya mahatā prayatnena sūtrāṇi praṇayati sma, tatrāśakyam varṇenāpy anarthakena bhavitum, kimpunariyatā sūtreṇa?* (*Mahābhāṣya* under 1.1.1.).

syllable in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which is without significance, and that Pāṇini constructed his aphorisms with utmost care and circumspection. But Dr Agrawala deduces from this tribute paid by Patañjali the *Paribhāṣā*;: *Ardhamātrālāghavena putrotsavam manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ.* He says on page 6:

> "This authoritative conception later on became the pivot of the maxim (*paribhāṣā*) that the saving of half a *mātrā* is regarded by the grammarians as gladdening as the birth of a son (*Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, No. 122)".

It is obvious that the conclusion contains more than what is in the premise. There is no reference to brevity in Patañjali's tribute which might lend a remote support to the conclusion. On the contrary Patañjali's remark: '*Anvākhyānameva tarhīdam mandabuddheḥ*' under 1.2.32 (also similar remarks) shows that Pāṇini did not make a fetish of brevity, and composed aphorisms, which might be deduced from the deeper significance of a rule, for the edification and easy enlightenment of the mediocre students. Nāgeśa justifies this *Paribhāṣā* (*Ardhamātrālāghavena* etc.) on other evidences.

Patañjali's homage to Pāṇini (*Pramāṇabhūta ācārya* etc.) has been rendered by Professor Agrawala on page 6 as:

> 'Purified by the *kuśa* grass held in hand, the *ācārya* seated himself facing the sun and took infinite pains in composing each *sūtra*. Not one syllable is purposeless, much less could a *sūtra* be'.

(As no other writer is acknowledged, it appears to be Dr Agrawala's own rendering). This interpretation is due to the oversight of the meaning of *pavitra* of *darbhapavitrapāṇi*. It is a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and not *Tatpuruṣa*, and the word *pavitra* here does not mean 'purified'. *Darbhapavitra* means 'a ring of *kuśa* grass'[13] worn on the fourth finger on certain religious occasions. This is prescribed as sacred and necessary for pouring ghee etc. by the *Śrautasūtras* and the *Dharmasūtras*.

Also the translation of *prāṅmukhaḥ* into 'facing the sun' is not correct. It means facing the east. Otherwise the word must be *sūryamukhaḥ* or the like. Pāyaguṇḍa Vaidyanātha says in his

13. Vide: *Siddāntakaumudī* under the rule '*Puvassamjñāyām*': '*Pavitram yenājyamutpūyate, yaccānāmikāveṣṭanam*'. This must have been known to Dr Agrawala, because on page 371 he states: 'The *kuśa* grass necessary for sacrificial ceremonies is referred to as *pavitram*'.

Chāyā under this *Mahābhāṣya* that by facing the east one gets favour of the gods.[14]

IV. *Analpamati*

On page 6 it is stated:

> "Patañjali also refers to the capacious intellect of Pāṇini by calling him an *analpamati ācārya*".

The epithet *analpamati* is found in the *Kārikā* which is evidently a *Ślokavārtika*[15]. It is not quite clear that it applies to Pāṇini. It is doubtful whether the injunction regarding the accusative in the causative in respect of intransitive verbs (*akarmaka*) and verbs denoting movement (*gatyarthaka*) is offered by Pāṇini. Kaiyaṭa's observation[16] ("it shows that the grammatical tradition is continued without break') rather points to some other *ācārya*. Also the expression *'dhruvayukti'* (found in the *Kārikā*) standing for the intransitive verb, as explained by Kaiyaṭa, suggests that it belongs to some other previous *ācārya*. It is evident that the tribute (*analpamati*) is offered by the *Vārtikakāra*, and not by Patañjali of his independent initiative. It is again doubtful whether it relates to Pāṇini. Patañjali speaks about the highest intellectual qualities of Pāṇini, no doubt. But the quotation under reference does not seem to be quite appropriate. Instead of quoting such references as authority for our own contention, it would be safe to cite references of indubitable character.

V. *Suhṛt*

The statement on page 7 also deserves our notice:

> "Lastly, Patañjali applies the significant epithet *suhṛt* (1.2.32) to Pāṇini in reference to the simplicity of his style which makes an erudite work so easy of comprehension by its lucidity and logic".

14. Cf. Kaiyaṭa: *'Prāṅmukha iti. prācyā abhyudayahetutvāt'*. Under this *Chāyī* says: *Prācīm devā abhajanta, pitaro 'vācīmiti śruterdevābhimukyena ca tadānukūlyasiddherityapi bodhyam'*.

15. *"Dhruvaceṣṭitayuktiṣucāpyaguṇe, tadanalpamatervacanam smarata" Dhruvayuktiṣu ceṣṭitayuktiṣucāpyaguṇe karmaṇi lādayo bhavantīti etadanalpamaterācaryasya vacanam smaryatām"*. *Bhāṣya* under 1.4.51. See Kaiyaṭa: *'Aguṇe pradhānakarmaṇi, dhruvayuktiṣu akarmakeṣu, ceṣṭitayuktiṣu ca gatyartheṣu ca lādayo bhavanti. Pūrvācārya prasiddhyā dhruvayuktayaḥ akarmakā ucyante.*

16. *Smarateti. Āgamasyāvicchedamanena darśayati'*. (1.4.51).

The epithet *suhṛt* means 'a friend' according to Pāṇini's rule *Suhṛddurhṛdau mitrāmitrayoḥ*. It is applied to Pāṇini frequently by Patañjali in order to show that Pāṇini does not refrain from elaborating issues for the sake of students of mediocre capacity. (Vide: *Bhāṣya* '*Anvākhyānameva tarhīdam mandabuddheḥ* (1.2.32).' Dr Agrawala's deduction from the epithet (*suhṛt*) of the conclusion about the lucidity etc. is pointless. It utmost shows that Pāṇini does not care for the strict brevity in all cases.

VI. The *Saṅgraha*

On page 19 he says:

> "The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was originally written in *sūtra* style and its bulk from the beginning was nearly 1000 *ślokas, as it is today*. The statement" (that Pāṇini's work contained a thousand *ślokas*, vide: *supra* ibid.) "is akin to the computation of Vyāḍi's *Saṅgraha,* also in *sūtra* style, as *lakṣaślokātmaka*".

What Dr Agrawala says is true of Pāṇini, and in regard to him *śloka* is used as a unit of measure (32 syllables). But his citation of the *Saṅgraha* in support is unjustified, since a large number of verses have been quoted from him.[17] Therefore it would not be correct to say with certainty that the *Saṅgraha* was not written in the metrical form, and that it was written only in the *sūtra* style.

VII. *Sannayana*

On page 22 it is said:

> "We have a suggestive word in Patañjali, viz., *sābhāsannayanaḥ,* 'the honour derived from literary exposition in a *sabhā* (1.1.73). Pāṇini himself uses the word *sannayana* in the special sense of *sammānana* (1.3.36), i.e. bestowal of honour on successful exposition of a *śāstra* (cf. *Kāśikā* on *Sammānana,* 1.3.36)'".

And again on page 295:

> "The person who came out triumphant in the debate was the recipient of high honours".

This is purely a figment of imagination. Firstly, Pāṇini does not use the word *sannayana* as mentioned by Dr Agrawala. What Pāṇini does is that he simply prescribes (in the rule *Sammānana*

17. Vide: Professor Chārudevaśāstri's edition of the *Vākyapadīya* with *Vṛṣabhadeva's ṭīkā*. It gives separately at the end all the *ślokas* that were quoted from the *Saṅgraha* by Bhartṛhari in his *svopajñavṛtti* in the first *kāṇḍa*.

etc. 1.3.36) the *ātmanepada* atfer the root *nī* in certain special meanings. And the examples signifying the *sammānana* as shown by the *Kāśikā*, the *Kaumudī* etc. contain only the verbal form '*nayate*' without any preposition prefixed thereto, though prepositions are prefixed in other cases[18]. So the statement that Pāṇini himself uses the word *sanayana* in the rule 1.3.36 is absolutely baseless and misleading. Not only in this rule but nowhere in his work the use of the word *sannayana* is traceable.

Secondly, the interpretation of *sannayana* as 'bestowal of honour on successful exposition of a *śāstra*' (on page 22) and the elaboration (on page 295) as 'the person who came out triumphant in the debate was the recipient of high honours' are purely fantastic. I quote here for clear understanding a few relevant sentences from the *Kāśikā* and the *Nyāsa*, the commentary on the *Kāśikā*, as Patañjali has no comment of his own. The *Kāśikā* gives the example '*Nayate cārvī lokāyate*'[19] and explains the meaning of '*nayate*' as 'reaching out to the students' (*prāpayati*) the conclusions and issues duly confirmed by reasoning. The rational confirmation puts the issues on a secure and respectable basis, which carries conviction to the students of the discipline. The tenets of the discipline thus explained by logic are put on a respectable footing, and the students are convinced of the infallibility of the conclusions. This conviction and intellectual satisfaction derived from the teaching of the master make them feel honoured and gratified. This is clarified by Jinendrabuddhi. He explains the significance of *sammānana* thus: '*Abhilaṣitārthasampādanameva teṣām* (*śiṣyāṇām*) *pūjā*; *abhilaṣito 'rthastu lokāyate śāstre padārthānām samyagavabodhaḥ*. So the *sammānana*, the *pūjā*, according to the *Nyāsakāra* consists in the resulting conviction and personal satisfaction of the

18. Like *vinayate, upanayate, udānayate* etc.

19. Though not relevant to the matter under discussion I feel tempted to hazard a guess for the examination of the teachers and students of the *Kāśikā*. The reading '*nayate cārvī lokāyate*' may be due to the scribe's error. The feminine '*cārvī*' is rather pointless. The example in the *Kāśika* '*cārvī buddhiḥ*' may have been originally '*cārvo Buddhaḥ*'. The promulgator of the *Lokāyata* system is called *cārvāka*, and *cārva* may be an incorrect abbreviation, (as in Devadatta, Deva, Datta, vide: *Kaumudī* under *Ṭhājādau* etc. '*Vināpi pratyayam pūrvottarapadayorlopo vaktavyaḥ*'), which was a practice widespread to require a ruling. As regards the interpretation of *cārva* as Buddha, it simply means that *cārvāka* was an enlightened person. The word Buddha did not necessarily stand for Śākyamuni, who also refers to previous Buddhas. Each promulgator of a system, a thought or a cult, claimed the epithet of the Buddha (enlightened.

disciples regarding the truth of the subject-matter. No other honour than this is necessary for the application of this rule (1.3.36). Professor Agrawala did not care to scrutinize the exposition of the authors and gives his fancifully original interpretation, carried away by the apparent meaning of the word *sammānana*. The bestowal of honour might have been the result of the thorough knowledge of a subject in some cases, but it has no bearing upon the present rule and its example. And the word *sannayana* has absolutely no connection either with the rule under reference or the meaning assigned by Professor Agrawala.

The comment of Dr Agrawala on *sammānana* (quoted above) gives evidence of a prolific imagination, which is undoubtedly a valuable asset to a writer of fiction, but not to the historian. I have dealt with this matter in connection with the *sūtra* 1.3.36. As regards the interpretation of *sabhāsannayana* as 'the honour derived from literary exposition in a *sabhā*, it seems to be nothing but a cobweb of fancy. Unfortunately the meaning of *sabhāsannayana* or *sābhāsannayanaḥ* given by Patañjali under 1.1.73 as an example in connection with the definition of the *Vṛddha*, a technical term, has not been explained by any commentator. The commentators including Patañjali were all interested in putting this word '*sabhāsannayana*' beyond the pale of *Vṛddha* in order to debar the expression *sabhāsannayanīya*, and endorse *sābhāsannayana*. (Vṛddha is a word which has *ā*, *ai*, or *au* in the initial syllable).

I hazard my interpretation. The word *sabhā* has got a twofold meaning, viz. the council hall (*śālā*) and assembly (*saṅghāta*). If we take the word *sabhā* in the first sense, *sabhāsannayana* may be interpreted as 'conducting (a person) to the assembly hall', and *sābhāsannayanaḥ* derived by the rule '*Tatra bhavaḥ*' with the suffix '*aṇ*' added to the word *sabhāsannayana*, may mean 'a rule or etiuette (*samudācāra*) 'to be observed in conducting a person to the council hall'. If *sabhā* be understood in the sense of assembly or meeting, the *sabhāsannayana* would mean 'conducting of a meeting', and the derivative (*sābhābhāsannayanaḥ*) would mean 'the rules or procedure to be observed in such an act'. In one word it would mean only the rule of a meeting. It has nothing to do with *sammānana* or the honour derived from literary exposition in a *sabhā* as stated by Dr Agrawala.

He seems to have been led away by the account of Yuan Chwang regarding the custom of honouring learned men or a successful debater. In the *Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya* and the *Kusumāñjali* it is stated that the result of victory in a debate was material gain

(*lābha*), honour (*pūjā*), and reputation (*khyāti*) (Vide: *Nyāya-sūtrabhāṣya* under 4.2.51 '*lābhapūjākhyātyartham*'). This has been the custom in India, and perhaps in other countries, which is inspired by the natural love of knowledge and appreciation of scholarship. But the attempt to deduce this custom from the sutra *Sammānana* etc. (1.3.36) only leads him to read into it a meaning which is absolutely unobjective. It points to the moral of danger which one cannot avoid by drawing on the imagination in disregard of facts.

VIII. *Samjñāpramāṇatvāt*

On page 24 it is stated:

> "In the *Sūtra-kāṇḍa*....he" (Pāṇini) "says that it is not within the province of the grammarian to lay down rules (*aśiṣh-yam*) about particulars of time and tense durations, since he must depend on the usage of the day (*saṁjñāpramāṇa*) for such regulations."

Pāṇini in the aphorisms[20] from 1.2.51 to 1.2.57 shows his difference from his predecessors. He says that the rules (1.2.51 and 1.2.52) regarding the number and gender of the names of tribes and countries are futile, because they are known from popular usage (*samjñāpramāṇatvāt*). The names of tribes and countries have their number and gender fixed by convention, and so there is no necessity for any rule. It would be rather so much labour wasted to make known what is obvious. Similarly a rule for eliding the *Taddhita* suffix (in the sense of *nivāsa* etc.) in the case of common or proper nouns is also not necessary, since they are fixed by usage and do not have any analytical derivation. In such cases the *Taddhita* suffix is not at all applied; hence no question of elision and no necessity for any rule for that purpose. Pāṇini justifies that these names are ultimate indivisible words which do not derive their meaning from etymology (*yoga*), since the latter is out of the question.

As regards also the durations of time expressed by tense-suffixes there is no warrant for any rule. They are to be under-

20. The rules are: '*Lupi yuktavat vyaktivacane. Viśeṣaṇānāñcājāteḥ Tadaśiṣyam samjñāpramāṇatvāt. Lup, Yogāprakhyānāt. Yogapramāne ca tadabhāve adarśanam syāt. Pradhānapratyayārthavacanamarthasyānyapramāṇatvāt. Kālopasarjane ca tulyam.* Also see *Kāśikā* under 1.2.51: *Vyaktivacane iti ca liṅgasaṅkhyayoḥ pūrvācāryanirdeśastadīyamevedam sūtram. Tathācāsya pratyākhyānam bhaviṣyati 'Tadaśiṣyam .. iti'.*

stood in the senses in which they are used in popular speech, and their significance is known to all. The same is the case with the rules regarding the relative position of meanings. One is subordinate and adjectival (*upasarjanam-apradhānam*) to another, and this is clearly understood by all, and no specific rules are required. This applies to the components of compounds and the suffixes (*pratyayas*). Pāṇini has made specific rules only with regard to some exceptional cases.

Dr Agrawala's statement (quoted above) is lax and hasty. He has slurred over the important rider *arthasyānyapramāṇatvāt* given in the rule 1.2.56, and quoted the reason *saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt* of the rule 1.2.53, which has no bearing on the matter under review. The rule *Kālopasarjane ca tulyam* means that *kāla* (time) and *upasarjana* (subordinate) are known from other evidence, that is popular usage, about which Pāṇini does not propose to give specific rules in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. They are certainly not *saṃjñās* proper or common nouns to which the reason *saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt* applies. It is evidently a bad slip due to the oversight of the momentous word *tulyam* (likewise) which means that the reason *arthasyāpramāṇatvāt* assigned in the immediately antecedent aphorism (1.2.56) applies also in the rule *Kālopasarjane* (1.2.57). The position has been made abundantly clear in the *Kāśikā*.[21]

IX. *Prācyabharata*

On page 38 it is stated :

> "The *Bharata* region separated the east from the west, as shown by Pāṇini's reference to Prāchya-Bharata on which Patañjali remarks that the proper *Prāchya* country lies outside the sphere of the Bharatas (2.4.56)".

The deduction 'that the proper *prācya* country etc. "is due to the lack of proper appraisal of Patañjali's comment. The *Bharatas* were *prācyas* and they were included within the eastern zone. Patañjali raises a question of logical necessity. An adjective is appropriate only when it is not included in the connotation of the substantive, or necessarily associated with its meaning. Also it must not be absurd. This rule has been explicitly stated by

21. The *Kāśikā* explains *arthasyānyapramāṇatvāt* thus: '*Anya iti śāstrāpekṣayā loko vyapadiśyate*' (under 1.2.56) and also '*Kālopasarjane ca aśiṣye, kasmāt? arthasyānyapramāṇatvāt ... yaśca lokato' rthassiddhaḥ kim tatra yatnena?* (under 1.2.57).

Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika.*[22] According to this dictum the propositions *śīto vahniḥ* and *uṣṇo vahniḥ* (fire is cold; fire is hot) become meaningless, because the former is absurd, and the latter redundant. The *Bharatas* being necessarily the easterners, the adjective *prācya* would be absolutely redundant (*anarthakam*). This is evident from the remarks of Patañjali[23]. The compound *prācyabharateṣu* in the sutra (2.4.66) may be analysed in two different ways. It may mean both easterners and Bharatas as a case of *Dvandva* (*prācyāśca Bharatāśca*), or the word *prācya* may be regarded as the adjective of *Bharatas,* and thus explained as a case of *Karmadhāraya* (*prācyāśca te Bharatāśca*). Patañjali remarks that both these cases would be logically absurd. The *Bharatas* being necessarily *prācyas* the word *prācya* (easterners) would include the *Bharatas* as a matter of necessity, and so the mention of the *Bharatas* in the *sūtra* would be absolutely redundant....On the second alternative (i.e. the Bharatas who are easterners) the adjective *prācya* would be redundant, because the Bharatas are invariably *prācyas.* An adjective which is necessarily a part of the meaning of the substantive term, or an invariable associate, is unwarranted on the ground of redundancy. No other interpretation of the *sūtra* seems plausible. Patañjali however concludes that the *sūtra* cannot be a nonsensical utterance, and therefore veers round to the first alternative (i.e. *samuccaya;* easterners and the Bharatas). But this interpretation as shown before is exposed to the charge of redundancy of the Bharata. Patañjali argues that the *prima facie* interpretation is liable to the charge of redundancy. The Bharatas are necessarily embraced by the *prācya,* and so the word *prācya* would have alone served the purpose. But there is a deeper meaning intended by Pāṇini. Nothing can be superfluous in the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, as observed before by Patañjali.[24]

The apparent redundancy of the Bharata implies that in other cases where only *prāk* or *prācya* (easterner) is stated in the *sūtra*

22. *Sambhavavyabhicārābhyām syād viśeṣaṇasambhavaḥ,* (*Tantravārtika,* p. 264; Anad. ed.).

Also the following verse is quoted by scholars in this context, of which I am not able to trace the source.

Sambhavavyabhicārābhyām syādviśeṣaṇamarthavat,
Na śaityena na cauṣṇyena vahniḥ kvāpi viśṣyate.

23. '*Atha prāggrahaṇam Bharataviśeṣaṇam, prāggrahaṇamanarthakam, nahyaprāñco Bharatāssanti* (2.4.66).

24. Vide; Foot note No. 12.

it should not stand for the Bharatas[25]. The result of this implication (*jñāpanam*) is that in the rule '*Iñaḥ prācām* (2.4.60) the word *prācām* does not include the Bharatas (an easterner with the suffix '*iñ*'). For instance Pānnāgāri, which means the son of Pannāgāra (the name of a person who is an easterner, *prācya*), would not have what is called *yuvapratyaya* (the suffix denoting a grand son and other lower descendents of Pannāgara, provided the ancestor is living). This is what Patañjali means by enjoining the elison of the *yuvan* suffix after the word Pānnāgāri, which word would stand for both the grand son and the great grand son of Pannāgāra. There will be no such word as Pānnāgārāyaṇaḥ. But in the case of Bharatas such as Auddālaki and Ārjuni, their great grand sons would be called Auddālakāyana and Ārjunāyana. In one word the *yuvan* suffix after Bharatas will apply, and so there will be no case of elision.

Pāṇini indicates on the strength of the rule 1.2.46 that an injunction which is apparently superfluous implies either restriction (*niyama*) or a separate rule (*Vyartho vidhirārabhyamāṇaḥ niyamārtho jñāpakārtho vā bhavati*). By having recourse to this device Pāṇini avoided the necessity of framing a large number of rules. The present case under consideration is an instance of the implication of a rule which does not require such separate statement as '*Anyatra Bharatebhaḥ*' as a rider to *Iñaḥ prācām*. This is the meaning intended by Pāṇini and expounded by Pātañjali. It is absolutely unwarranted to deduce from this ruling that 'the Bharatas were not included in the easterners, the *prācya* country lay outside the sphere of the Bharatas', and the Bharatas stood between the northerners and the easterners as an intermediary.

X. *Himānī; Himaśratha; Adhityakā; Upatyakā*

There is great plausibility in the observations of Dr Agrawala (on page 39) that Pāṇini was acquainted with the Himālaya. But this does not strictly follow from the references cited. Of course *himānī* means 'a large mass of snow', *himaśratha* means 'thaw of snow', *adhityakā* 'plateau', and *upatyakā* means 'valley'. These are general terms and applicable to every possible mountainous region. Dr Agrawala connects them with the Himālaya, which is unwarranted by the wording of the *sūtras*.

25. *Etajjñāpayatyācāryaḥ—anyatra prāggrahaṇe Bharatagrahaṇam na bhavatīti. Kimetasya jñāpane prayojanam? Iñaḥ prācām—Bharatagrahaṇam na bhavati. Auddālakiḥ pitā; Auddālakāyanaḥ putra iti*'. (*Mahābhāṣya* under 2.4.66)

XI. *Cāturvarṇyam*

On page 76 he writes:

> "Pāṇini in a *sūtra* V.1.124 refers to the *bhāva* (nature) and *karma* (conduct) which should characterize a Brāhmaṇa (*Guṇavachana-Brāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi cha*). These are indicated in the derivative expression *Brāhmaṇya*. *Kātyāyana* applies this rule to the four castes collectively to indicate the norm and duties for which the system stands."

The word cāturvarṇyam is derived from the words catur and *varṇa* by adding the suffix *ṣyañ*, which is prescribed generally in the sense of *bhāva* or *karman* (*pravṛttinimitta* or *kriyā*). But in the expression *cāturvarṇyam* neither the *kriyā* nor the *pravṛtti-nimitta* (connotation of the term) is denoted. In this case the *Vārtika 'Cāturvarṇyādīnām upasaṅkhyānam'* prescribes it in the mere sense of the basic word (*catvāro varṇaḥ*), and no additional meaning of *bhāva* or *kriyā* is denoted by it. This is clearly explained by Kaiyaṭa.[26] Also the *Kāśikā* says: *'Cāturvarṇyādīnām svārthe upasaṅkhyānam 'Catvāra eva varṇāścāturvarṇyam'*. Here the *eva* is used to show that in the case of this *Vārtika* the *bhāva* and *karman* are not to be brought in by mistake. Amarasimha also says: *'Viprakṣatriyaviṭśūdrāścāturvarṇyam iti smṛtam'*. So the word means only 'the four castes', and nothing else. Professor Agrawala's remark that Kātyāyana applies this rule to the four castes collectively to indicate the norm and duties for which the system stands, is mislaeding.

XII. *Āryaybrāhmaṇa*

On page 79 he says:

> "Pāṇini applies the epithet *Ārya* to a *Brāhmaṇa* to denote the king's chief counsellor (*Āryabrāhmaṇa*) and to *Kumāra* to denote the crown prince (6.2.58)".

Pāṇini prescribes *prakṛtisvara* in the rule referred to by Dr Agrawala. But he does not mention that the words *Āryabrāhmaṇa* and *Āryakumāra* denote king's chief counsellor and the crown prince. Under *Aryassvāmivaiśyayoḥ* (3.1.103) *Kāśikā* gives a counter-example (*pratyudāharaṇam*) as *āryo brāhmaṇaḥ*, and the *Padamañjarī* comments on the *āryaḥ* as *'prāptavya ityarthaḥ'* (i.e. to be met with

26. Kaiyaṭa under 5.1.124: *'Pratyayāntoccāraṇam bhāvakarma—sambandhanivṛtyarthamiti svārtha eva ṣyañ bhavati. Catvāro varṇāḥ cāturvarṇyam'*,

or to be reached). *Kaumudī* also tells the same thing. Amarasimha makes it a synonym of *sādhu* etc. (*Mahākula-kulīna-ārya-sabhyasajjana-sādhavaḥ*). So it is not clear on what basis Professor Agrawala draws out the peculiar meaning from the word '*ārya*', and associates it with the rule *Āryo Brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ*.

XIII. *Patnī*

On page 83 it is said:

> "His" (householder's) "wife was technically called *Patnī* derived from the term *Pati* to whom she was wedded at the sacrifice (*Patyur no yajñasaṁyoge* IV.1.33)".

Professor Agrawala seeks to support his contention on the strength of the rule *Patyur no yajñasaṁyoge.* But the rule does not mean that she who is wedded at the sacrifice is called '*patnī*'. The fact of the matter is this. Persons of all the castes are not eligible for performing Vedic sacrifices; only those of the first three castes (*Brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya,* and *vaiśya*) have the necessary sanction of the *śruti* for such performances. According to the interpretations of the Mīmāṁsā system of philosophy both husband and wife are required to be present in performing the sacrifices enjoined by the Veda. So the wife who has such obligatory relations with sacrificial functions and consequently shares with her husband the fruits that accrue therefrom, is called *patnī,* and this is what is prescribed by the rule '*Patyur no yajñasamyoge*'.[27] The clause '*yajñasamyoge*' signifies that the wife of a member of the fourth caste is not to be called *patnī,* because her husband is not enjoined by the scriptures to perform the sacrifices, and therefore she is not concerned with the *yajña.* Only the wife of a member of the first three castes is literally entitled to the respectable name of '*patnī*'. The application of this term to others is only analogical. This is the import of the rule and significance of the term. It has no connection with the wedding at the sacrifice at all. Dr Agrawala could not ignore this cruicial point, because on page 86 he writes:

> "The husband and his wife after marriage had to perform jointly the sacrificial rites, from which the wife derived the title of honour as *patnī*".

27. Vide: *Kaumudī* under '*Patyur no yajñasamyoge*': '*Tatkartṛka yajñasya phalabhoktrītyarthaḥ, dampatyossahādhikārāt*'.

XIV. *Chātriśālā*

On page 89 he says:

> "Sometimes they" (women) "were in-residents at the schools in what were called chhātriśālā (VI. 2.86)";

and again on page 287:

> "Pāṇini refers to female students as *Chhātri* and their hostels *'chhātri-śālā'* (VI. 2.86)".

From these it is evident that Professor Agrawala takes the word *Chātri* in the expression cited to mean 'a female student'. The question as to whether *'Chātrī'* or *'Chātrā'* is the feminine form of the word *Chātra* is very old one, and it was also critically examined by the different exponents of Sanskrit grammar. It still remains a controvertial point. Dr K. C. Chatterji discusses the views of grammarians of different schools in his valuable journal, the *Mañjūṣā*, in the issue No. 6 of the fourth volume, and shows that the opinions are sharply divided. The word *Chātra* is derived from *'Chatra'* with the suffix *'ṇa'* (by the rule *'Chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ'* 4.4.62) in the sense of *tātchīlya*. One who is attentive to the affairs of his teacher and bent upon covering his (teacher's) defects is called *'Chātra'*.[28] There are other words included in the group, of which *curā* is also one. *Caurī* is the feminine form of *caura* derived from *curā* in the sense of *curā śīlam asyāḥ*. In *caurī* the feminine suffix *'ī'* (*ṅīp*) is effected as a result of the *Paribhāṣā 'Tātchīlike ṇe aṇkṛtāni bhavanti,* which is implied by the aphorism *'Kārmas tātchīlye'* (6.4.172). But the supplementary *Paribhāṣā 'Jñāpakasiddham na sarvatra'* makes that *Paribhāṣā* not compulsory in its operation in all cases. Kaiyaṭa, Nyāsakāra, and Haradatta are definitely of the opinion that it would have been better if *'aṇ'* were prescribed instead of *'ṇa'* by *Chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ,* and so the form in the feminine as a matter of necessity would be *chātrī, caurī* etc. But Nāgeśa differs from Kaiyaṭa and others on the strength of the ruling *Jñāpakasiddham na sarvatra',* and says that *chātrā* (with *ṭāp*) becomes the legitimate form. He does not definitely assert that *chātrā* is the only correct form. Bhairavamiśra, the author of the commentary *Bhairavī* on the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* says: *Chātrā ityapi siddhyati* (Under the *Paribhāṣa 'Tātchīlike ṇe aṇkṛtāni bhavanti*). Here the *'api'* seems to indicate that *chātrā*

28. Vide: *Kāśikā* under 4.4.62: *'Chatram śīlam asya chātraḥ. Chādanāt āvaraṇāt chatram. Gurukāryeṣvavahitastatchidrāvaraṇa pravṛttaḥ chatraśīlaśchātraḥ'.*

is an alternative form. But Nāgeśa's direct disciple Pāyaguṇḍa Vaidyanātha however says that *chātrā* is the only correct form.[29] So in the light of Vaidyanātha's interpretation the feminine form is only *chātrā*, and never *chātrī*, and consequently the expression *chātriśālā* cannot be interpreted as 'hostel for females etc.'.

Furthermore, even if, according to Bhairavamiśra, the feminine form *chātrī* be accepted as correct, the compound form must be with long 'ī' as '*chātrīśālā*', and not with short 'i' as is found in the example under reference. In the *chātryādi* group under *Chātryādayaśśālāyām* (6.2.86) all the words Chātri, Peli, Bhāṇḍi, Vyāḍi, Āpiśali, Ākhaṇḍi, Āpāri, and Gomi all these words are read with short 'i', and not with long 'ī'. So this *chātri* (with short 'i') cannot be taken to be the feminine form of *chātra*. Therefore in any case the rendering of *chātriśālā* into 'hostel for female students' is absolutely not correct. As regards the possible meaning of the expression *chātriśālā* I hazard a guess. It is surmisable on account of the reading of the other words in the group like Vyāḍi and Āpiśali etc., that the form Chātri is a name (proper noun) of some previous writer like Āpiśali, with whom the *śālā* may be taken to have some association. Of course I am not definite of the correct meaning of the expression. Whatever may be the other probable meaning, it is certain that it does not mean 'hostel for women students'.

XV. *Niṣadyā*

On page 134 he says:

> "In *sūtra* III.3.99" (*Saṁñāyām samaja* etc.) "Pāṇini gives *nishadyā* as a specific word (*saṁjñā*) meaning a rest-house."

Under the rule *Saṁjñāyām samada niṣada*, etc. the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* says '*Niṣīdanti asyām iti niṣadyā, āpaṇaḥ*'. Also Amarasimha says '*Āpaṇastu niṣadyāyām*'. So according to these writers *niṣadyā* means a shop. Kṣīrasvāmin, the commentator on the *Amarakośa*, also explains in the same manner as Bhaṭṭoji dīkṣita.

XVI. *Sukosalā*

On page 139 he says:

> "We find Patañjali speaking of the guide-book called *Sukosalā*, which gave a detailed (*avayavaśaḥ*) description of the wonderful city-walls of Pāṭalīputra."

29. Vide His *Bhāvaprakāśa* on *Proudhamanoramā* under '*Tātchīlike ṇe aṇkṛtāni bhavanti* in *Strīpratyayaprakaraṇa* (under the rule *Ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* etc.), where he observes '*Jñāpakasiddhasya asārvatrikatvāt chātrā ityeva*'.

This interpretation, if not at variance with the exposition of Patañjali and the subsequent commentators, would have been hailed as a discovery of an interesting historical fact corresponding to the needs of modern civilization. I do not mean to say that there was no such historical guide-book in the past, which might have existed. But unfortunately the present *sūtra* of Pāṇini does not throw any light on the prevalence of a guide-book. It simply prescribes the relevant suffixes to be employed after the name of a literary topic expounded in an expository work which may be a commentary or an independent treatise. Thus, for instance a book which treats of *sup* suffixes is called *Saupa* (*granthaḥ*). The *sup* (suffixes) are the subject-matter of exposition (*vyākhyātvya-nāma*). The resultant form *Saupa* means a work or commentary dealing with the *sup* suffixes. It may also mean alternatively anything that occurs in or is incidental to the subject-matter (*Tatra bhavaḥ*) which is entirely different from an exposition.

In order to show that the resultant forms *Saupa, Taiṅa, Ṣātvaṇatvika* etc. are the names of literary commentaries or expositions of a literary subject, Patñjali gives the counter-illustration *Pāṭaliputrasya vyākyānī Sukosalā.* Sukoslā is the name of a city and so also Pāṭalīputra. Neither of them is the name of literary work or subject. It means that the city of Sukosalā is the commentary of Pāṭaliputra in a figurative sense. Sukosalā is rather the prototype, and one who is acquainted with the planning of Sukosalā can have an indirect knowledge of Pāṭaliputra, which may be regarded as a replica of the former. The relevant suffixes do not apply to Pāṭaliputra of which the city Sukosalā may be reagrded as a commentary in a metaphorical sense.

This is the interpretation given in the authoritative commentaries.[30] And Dr Agrawala's interpretation is in flat contradiction with that of the accredited authorities.

The use of 'Commentary in a figurative sense' is not an old scholastic device. Even now one may say in English 'The Railway service in the interior parts of India is a sad commentary on the inefficiency of the department'. Here the word commentary also

30. Vide: Kaiyaṭa's comment on the Mahābhāṣya under 4.3.66: *Yādṛśaḥ Sukosalāyām prākarādisanniveśastādṛśaḥ Pāṭaliputre iti Pāṭaliputram vyākhyātvyam bhavtīti syādeva pratyayaḥ. Vyākhyātavyanāmagrahaṇād hi vyākhyītvyatvena prasiddhatamasya granthasya yannāma tasya grahaṇādatiprasaṅgībhāvaḥ.* Also *Padamañjarī* on 4.3.66 *Tādṛśo hi Pāṭaliputre prākārādisanniveśo yādṛśassukosalāyām; tena tayā tad vyākhyāyate.*

does not mean a literary exposition of a literary work. It only means that it explains a fact. In the illustration of Sukosalā it is this metaphorical meaning which is intended. The confusion of literal with metaphorical sense has called undesirable consequences, sometimes grotesque and sometimes tragical in the past. The present illustration is an instance of the former.

XVII. *Grāmyapaśu saṅgha*

On page 142 he says:

> 'Pastures appear to have been held in common by the village for the grazing of its cattle (*Grāmyapaśusaṅgha*, 1.2.73)'.

By quoting this rule (1.2.73) he seems to support his contention of common pastures of the village. But the rule is intended for prescribing that when both masculine and feminine forms are to be used, the feminine form alone remains (*Ekaśeṣa*) if it is the case of the herds of rural cattle, and provided that the cattle are not young. '*Gāva imāḥ*' is the example, which means that 'these are (both) cows and bulls'. It is beyond our ken how this rule supports the existence of pastures, and that again held in common by the village for the grazing of its cattle. Dr Agrawala writes again wrongly on the same page: 'Forests were also used for grazing of domestic animals', on the support of the same rule (*Grāmyapāśu* etc.). It would be safe if he avoided such irrelevant references.

XVIII. *Gauṣṭhīna*

On page 222 he says:

> "An area once used for grazing and later abandoned was called *gauṣhṭhīna* (*bhūtapūrvagoṣṭha*, V.2.18)."

The *Kāśikā* explains this as '*Gāvastiṣṭhantyasminniti goṣṭham, goṣṭhaśabdena sannihitagosamūho deśa ucyate*'. According to this *goṣtha* means "a cow-pen and *gauṣṭhīna* means that which was once a cow-pen. No proof is furnished by Prof. Agrawala for the interpretation as 'an area once used for grazing'.

XIX. *Anūcāna*

On page 282 he writes:

> "Pāṇini refers to the teacher as *anūchāna*, 'one who expounds the texts' (III. 2.109)";

and again on page 291:

"Pāṇini refers to another class of teachers called *anūchāna* (III. 2.109)".

The same he repeats on page 303 also.

But under this rule the *Kaumudī* says *Vedasya anuvacanam kṛtavān anūcānaḥ*. Amarasimha also tells *anūcānaḥ pravacane sāṅge adhītī*. The word '*adhītī*' and the expression *anuvacanaṁ kṛtavān*' must make it clear that the word refers to a student, i.e., one who repeated his lessons after his master. It does not refer to the teacher. Dr Agrawala's rendering does not seem to be correct.

XX. *Student getting food, etc.*

On page 281 he writes:

"Patañjali refers to a student ...... getting food offered by pious families (*yājyakulāni gatvā agrāsanādīni labhate*)".

Dr Agrawala's intention is that by the sentence (quoted within brackets), Patañjali means 'a student getting food offered by pious families'. Under the rule '*Sthānivat ādeśo'nalvidhau*'. Patañjali says '*Loke yo yasya prasaṅge bhavati labhate 'sau tatkāryāṇi; tadyathā—upādhyāyasya* (*sthāne*) *śiṣyaḥ yājyakulāni gatvā agrāsanādīni labhate*'. This is cited by Patañjali as an example to show that the rule '*Sthānivadādeśaḥ*' is needless, because such functions as the extension of the treatment (application of the rules) of the *sthānin* to the substitute (*ādeśa*), are commonly known without the help of a grammatical rule. For instance, when his disciple goes in the place of a preceptor to the houses of those on whose behalf a sacrificial rite is performed, they extend to him all the treatment of honour such as the first seat, etc., which is usually accorded to the preceptor. This is the meannig of the sentence of the *Mahābhāṣya* quoted by Dr Agrawala. The disciple may get food or may not. But the rendering of Prof. Agrawala is not a faithful representation of the import of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

XXI. *Upasthānīyaḥ antevāsī guroḥ*

On page 282 he writes:

"They" (the teacher and the pupil) "were always close to each other (*upasthānīya*, III. 4.68) the teacher to be served (*upasthānīyaḥ śiṣyeṇa guruḥ*), and the pupil to be taught (*upasthānīyaḥ antevāsī guroḥ, Kāśikā*)".

The word *upasthānīya* occurs in the rule '*Bhavyageya*' etc., which prescribes the irregular forms '*Bhavya*' etc. in which the suffixes '*ya*' and '*anīya*' are mentioned as optionally correct in the sense of 'agent' (*kartari*). The suffixes '*ya*' and *anīya* are prescribed by the general rule (*Tayoreva* etc.) only in the impersonal and passive senses, but never in the sense of agent (of action). So the forms *bhavya* etc. are mentioned as an exception in the rule (3.4.68) with the *kṛtya* suffixes in the sense of agent. As this prescription is optional, the forms *bhavya* etc. can also be used in the impersonal or the passive sense as the case may be. The expression *upasthānīya* means both 'one who is attending on' (agent suffix), and 'one who is attended on' (passive suffix). In both the cases it stands for 'attending on'. The only difference is that in the case of agent suffix the participial form (*upasthānīya*) governs genitive case (*kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*) after the word standing for the object (of the action) as '*upasthānīyaḥ antevāsī guroḥ*)'. Here *upasthānīyaḥ* has the same meaning as *upasthātā*, in the case of passive suffix it cannot effect the genitive case on the word *guru,* owing to the rule '*anabhihite*' which is also applicable to the rule *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti,* and consequently we have the nominative case like '*Upasthānīyaḥ guruḥ śiṣyeṇa*'. In this case (of passive suffix) the agent of the action (*śiṣya*) being unexpressed (*anabhihita*) by the passive suffix (*anīya*), he is used in the instrumental case in accordance with the rule '*kartṛkaraṇayostṛtīyā*'. Active and the passive voice is the only difference. As far as the meaning (of the root) is concerned, there is absolutely no difference. The root of the *Upasthānīya* does not mean in one case 'to serve', and in the other 'to teach'. In both the cases it means 'attending on'. i.e. the student is attending on the teacher', and 'the teacher is attended on by the student' are the meanings of the active and the passive uses respectively. The interpretation of '*upasthānīyaḥ antevāsī guroḥ*' as 'the pupil to be taught' is absurd. This is evident from the *Kāśikā* and the *Kaumudī*. Dr Agrawala will do well to go through the original texts carefully and know the correct meaning of the expressions.

XXII. *Upayoga*

On page 291 he remarks:

> "Tuition in the prescribed religious manner was *upayoga* (*niyama-pūrvakaṁ vidyā-grahaṇam, Kāśikā* on 1.4.29). According to the commentator learning of secular subjects as dramatic art did not come under the category of *upayoga,* e.g. 'takes instruction about drama from an actor' (*naṭasya śṛiṇoti*)".

The term *vidyā* in *'niyamapūrvakavidyāgrahaṇam'* does not mean religious subject, and so learning of secular subjects like dramatic art etc. is not excluded from the category of *upayoga* on the ground of its being a non-religious subject. The example *naṭasya śṛṇoti* does not mean 'takes instruction about drama from an actor'. It means only 'hears the (song of the) actor' (for instance, during a performance). Kaiyaṭa says under this rule *'Grantārthadhāra-ṇārtham yadgrahaṇam sa upayogaḥ'* i.e. receiving instruction for a (thorough) knowledge of the subject', This is what is meant by *'niyamapūrvakam vidyāgrahaṇam'*. In the example *'naṭasya śṛṇoti'* it is not a matter of instruction for a knowledge of the technique, but it is only a hearing for delight or so. If there be a regular instruction received by a student for a knowledge of the dramatic art, then we certainly have the ablative case as *'naṭāt śṛṇoti'*, which also becomes the example of the rule under reference (*Akhyātopayoge*). This is explained by Nāgeśa under the *Bhāsya* (on 1.4.29) while commenting on the *Pradīpa: Granthadhārṇārthamiti*) as: *'Yadā tu naṭādibhyo'pi tathādhya-yanam tadā naṭāt śṛṇotīti bhavatyeveti bodhyam.'* Even in the case of religious education if it not be a case of instruction for the sake of knowledge, but only a casual hearing we will have only the genitive case like *'Upādhyāyasya śṛṇoti'* and not the ablative case prescribed by the rule *'Ākhyātopayoge'*, because in that case on account of its not being a case of instruction for knowledge the example does not come under the purview of that rule. It is a pity that Dr Agrawala did not notice the very important remarks of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa. His interpretation of *naṭasya śṛṇoti* therefore does not give the real picture, and consequently deserves to be emended.

XXIII. *Takṣā*

On page 229 he says:

> "Pāṇini mentions the skilled artisans as *rāja-śilpins* (*Rāja ca praśaṁsāyām* VI.2.63), e.g. *rāja-nāpita, rāja-kulāla.* Perhaps these enjoyed the patronage of kings from whom they were so named. Patañjali clearly says that a carpenter engaged to work for the king did not entertain private work (*takshā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svaṁ karma jahāti, Bhāshya,* II. 2.1; I. 364)".

From the context of 'skilled artisans' (and the chapter on arts and crafts) it appears that by the sentence 'Patañjali clearly

says that a carpenter engaged to work for the king did not entertain private work' Dr Agrawala means to say that when a carpenter skilled in carpentry was engaged, as a result of his craftsmanship, to work for the king, he did not entertain any work of carpentry for ordinary persons. If the carpenter referred to was meant one who was engaged not for his skill in carpentry, but for some thing else, then there is no meaning in Dr Agrawala's quoting the sentense '*Takṣā rājakarmaṇi* etc.' as an evidence in the chapter of 'Arts and Crafts', with which it has no relevancy. So the intention of Dr Agrawala seems to be to prove that 'the engagement of a carpenter on account of his skill in carpentry for the work of a king', was also spoken of by Patañjali in the sentence cited. But the fact of the matter is this. The instance of a carpenter is cited by Patañjali to support the contention (*Jahatsvārthāvṛtti*) that words used in certain phrases and cotexts particularly in compounds give up (i.e. do not denote) their usual meaning and stand for some other special signification. This is in conformity with the affairs of our day-to-day life. For instance when carpenter is engaged, says Patañjali, on an occasion by the king for conveying some message etc., being commissioned for that special work, he cannot and does not do his professional (usual) work of carpentry. In the same manner words also some times do not denote their usual meaning, because of their different context and function. This is the import of the sentence of the *Mahābhāṣya* under reference.[31] The carpenter's engagement referred to by Patañjali is not for the work of carpentry, and not on account of the carpenter's skill in the craft, but it is simply commissioning of his services for some other purpose not connected with carpentry. If there be any connection with carpentry then the citation by Patañjali would be unsuitable to the context, and the expression '*svam takṣakarma jahāti*' would also become null and void. So the reference of Patañjali to the carpenter has nothing to do with the skill of arts and crafts in general and that of the carpentry in particular, and Prof. Agrawala's interpretation therefore must be subjected to a sifting examination.

31. Vide; *Mahābhāṣya* on 2.1.1.: '*Yuktam punar jahatsvārthā nāma vṛttissyāt. Bāḍham yuktam; evam hi dṛśyate loke—puruṣo' yam parakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svam karma jahāti. Tadyathā—takṣā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svam takṣakarma jahāti.* 'Kaiyaṭa says on this: '*Takṣā rājakarmaṇīti. Yadā rājñā takṣā dūtyādau niyujyate tadā svakam karma jahāti*'.

XXIV and XXV. *Saupaḥ, and Taiṇaḥ*

On page 306 he translates the expression: *'Supām vyākhyānaḥ saupo granthaḥ'* 'as 'a book on nouns', and *'Taiṅaḥ'* as (a book on) verbs'. In fact the words *'nāmika* and *ākhyātika'* stand respectively for the works on nouns and verbs. The expressions *'Saupaḥ'* and *'Taiṅaḥ'* mean respectively a work dealing with case-endings (*sup*, not *subanta*) and that on verbal endings (*tiṅ*, not *tiṅanta*), like the word *kārtaḥ* which stands for a work on the *Kṛt* suffixes.

XXVI. *Upagraha*

On page 344 he says that *upagraha* is a *pūrvācārya-saṁjñā* of *Ātmanepada*. It stands not only for *ātmanepada* but also for *parasmaipada*. Under *'Vyatyayo bahulam'* (3.1.85) Nāgeśa says: *Upagraho lādeśavyaṅgyaṁ svārthatvādi. Iha tatpratītinimitte parasmaipadātmanepade lakṣaṇayocyete.* 'Patañjali also while illustrating *Upagrahavyatyaya* in the *Chandas* gives examples of both *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*'. Bhartṛhari has a separate chapter on *Upagraha* in his *Vākyapadīya*. He says:

> *Ya ātmanepadād bhedaḥ kvacidarthasya gamyate,*
> *Anyataścāpi lādeśāt, manyante tamupagraham.*

This is explained by Helārāja as: *'Ātmanepada-parasmaipada-vyaṅgyaḥ kartrabhiprāyatva-taditarādirūpo viśeṣo yaḥ kriyāyāḥ sādhanasya vā sa upagraha iti pūrvācāryairabhyupagataḥ. Kartrabhiprāyatva* is in those cases where the result of the action is enjoyed by the doer, the agent, and so the *ātmanepada* is generally to be used there; otherwise, if it is enjoyed by somebody else, not the doer, then there is *paragāmitva* in which case the *parasmaipada* is generally prescribed.

XXVII. *Prajāvatī*

On page 405 he translates *'prajāvatī'* as 'mother of princes'. But Amarasimha tells *'Prajāvatī bhratṛjāyā'*, i.e. the brother's wife. Dr Agrawala does not furnish any proof for his interpretation.

XXVIII and XXIX. *Varṇikā and Vartikā*

On page 392 he translates the expression: *'Varṇikā Bhāgurī lokāyatasya'* as 'the view point of *Bhāguri* is a specimen of the Lokayata doctrine', and again the expression: *'Vartikā Bhāgurī Lokāyatasya'* is translated as 'the way of life preached by

Bhāguri is that of *Lokāyata*'. Obviously Dr Agrawala takes the word *'varṇikā'* to mean 'specimen', and *'Vartikā'* for 'the way of life'. These examples occur in the *Mahābhaṣya* under the rule *'Nayāsayoḥ* (7.3.45). There Kaiyaṭa says: *'Varṇikā vyākhyānītyarthaḥ*, and *'Bhāgurī-ṭīkāviśeṣaḥ'*, and Nāgeśa explains this as *'Lokāyataśāstrasya vyākhyānarūpo granthaviśeṣa ityarthaḥ. Vartikā Bhāgurītyatrāpi vartiketyasya vyākhyānītyarthaḥ'*. So according to this comment both words mean commentary. In the system of *mīmāṁsā* philosophy also the word *'varṇakam'* is used in the sense of 'interpretation'. Professor Agrawala does not give any authority for his interpretation, and so it is unacceptable.

XXX. and XXXI. *Dāṇḍājinika* and *āyaśśūlika*

On page 381 he writes:

> "There were also sham ascetics, called *dāṇḍājinika* (V. 2.76), *i.e.* one who passes for an ascetic by the outward signs of staff and deer-skin only".

and again on the same page:

> 'Pāṇini refers to a class of false ascetics known as *āyaḥśūlika*' .... The term *ayaḥśūla* indicates the practice of violent methods (*rabhasa*) to recruit followers as distinguished from the softer method of persuasion and instruction .... As opposed to them "(the *Śivabhāgavatas*) the *āyahśūlika* Śaivas pierced their tongue or arms or other parts of the body with iron prongs and extracted forced sympathy".

The *Kāśikā* says: *'Tīkṣṇa upāya ayaśūlamucyate, tenānvicchati āyaśśūlikaḥ, sāhasika ityarthaḥ. Dambho daṇḍājinam, tenānvicchati dāṇḍājinikaḥ, dāmbhika ityarthaḥ.* Commenting on this the *Padamañjarī* says *'Dambho daṇḍājinamiti dambhasādhanatvāt; dambhavanto hi prāyeṇa daṇḍamajinam ca dhārayanti .... teneti. dambhena (anvicchati), daṇḍājinamtu dhārayatu, mā vā dīdharat ityarthaḥ. Sarvatra mukhyārthāgrahaṇe anabhidhānameva hetuḥ'*. From the above it should be clear that *'dandājina'* stands for deceit or fraud, and *'dāṇḍājinika* means only' a deceitful or fraudulent person. *Padamañjarī's* remark: *Sarvatra*, etc., makes it explicit that in both the cases the primary or literal meaning is never conveyed by the terms for want of such accepted usage (by the cultured people, *śiṣṭas*). The word *'dāṇḍājinika'* can be used to denote even a lay person (not an ascetic), who is fraudulant, and so it does not necessarily stand for sham ascetics. Similarly the word *āyaśśūlika* stands for one who adopts drastic methods for accomplishing a thing which could easily be done by gentle means; and so it does not necessarily mean a false ascetic' who pierces his tongue or other part of the body with iron prongs with the

intention of extracting forced sympathy. Both the terms have nothing to do with false ascetics and the outward signs of staff and deer-skin, or the recruitment of followers by violent methods. Patañjali does not give the word *āyaśśūlika* as opposed to *Śivabhāgavatas*. Dr Agrawala tries to impose his own fanciful explanation on Paṇini and Patañjali, and his interpretations are entirely baseless and incorrect.

XXXII. *Punarvasu*

On page 175 he writes:

> "*Punarvasu*. Pāṇini knows that there were two stars in this constellation; the two stars of *Punarvasu* and one of *Tiṣhya* make three, but they are expressed by the dual number as '*Tiṣhya-Punarvasū* (I.2.63). But in *sūtra* IV. 3.64" (the number is wrong; it should be 4.3.34) "he" (Pāṇini) mentions Punarvasu in the singular .... ".

The *sūtra* referred to by Dr Agrawala is *Śraviṣṭhā phalgunī anurādhā, svāti, tiṣya, punarvasu, hasta, viśākhāṣāḍhābahulāt luk.* In this rule the word *Punarvasu* is a component of the *dvandva* compound. Therefore the *Punarvasu* mentioned in the rule is only a stem without any case-ending. Further, the word stands for the form '*Punarvasu*', and not for the constellation. So the statement that Pāṇini mentions *Punarvasu* in the singular is not correct.

XXXIII

In the numbering of certain *sūtras* referred to in Dr Agrawala's book there are misprints, and they should be corrected as shown below.

	Page (in Dr A's book)	*Word, sūtra, Bhāṣya etc.*	*Number given*	*Number ~~as~~ should be*
1.	19	*sarvavedapāriṣada*, etc. (in the Bhāṣya)	2. 1. 58;	6.3.14 (and others also)
2.	39	*himaśratha*	4. 4. 29;	6.4.29
3.	45	*devikākūla*	7.31. 1;	7.3.1
4.	100	*Kharaviśada* etc.	4. 1. 16;	4.2.16
5.	124	*hailihila*	6. 3. 38;	6.2.38
6.	125	*kauśeya*	6. 3. 42;	4.3.42
7.	125	*aumaka*	4. 3.150;	4.3.157
8.	134	*nikāya*	3. 3.341;	3.3.41
9.	139	*Sukosalā* (in *Bhāṣya*)	4. 3. 36;	4.3.66
10.	175	*Punarvasu*	4. 3. 64;	4.3.34
11.	200	refer in the last para to *Bhāṣya*	8. 4. 13;	2.3.19
12.	229	*Takṣā rājakarmaṇi*, etc., in the *Bhāṣya*	2. 2. 1;	2.1.1